2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231, Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behav-
14 ior. . ."

Marriage Arrangements

584 Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter. Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their [431] representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were